12: Rivet--588 (no date) 1907 Jívaro
116, 354

The Jíbaro use seeds that they call sapatra for illumination. They come from a kind of Fevillea (Curcurbitaceæ), doubtless the Fevillea cordifolia. These seeds, flat and circular, 4 to 5 centimeters in diameter, are strung on a wooden rod so as to form a candle about 40 centimeters long. Since they are very oily, they give a slightly smoky but fairly bright flame: two of these candles suffice to light the house adequately. For night marches, they use copal torches.

25: Vigna--41 [5] (no date) 1945 Jivaro
116, 354, 513, 372, 415

The fire is always kept lit. At night it burns at the foot of the sleeper and keeps him warm, so that the Jíbaro has no need of sheets or blankets. In illness, in order to conserve heat, they use a piece of cloth that serves as loin cloth. They do not have a kitchen; the fire that burns at the foot of the bed serves for hearth and here, they prepare their food. Hollow calabashes are used for water. When they go on a journey, they take along a burning firebrand. [42]

The fireplaces may be anywhere in the house, but not in front of the doors.

This soul-stealing or capturing process involves drinking large quantities of an infusion of *nalem.A* (*Banisteria* sp.), beating a log signal drum, and repeating the name of the intended victim. Then if the enemy's arutam soul is wandering nocturnally, it may one night hear the would-be assassin's call and, "taking pity" on his need for such a soul, enter his body, never to return to the body of its former possessor.[11]

The Jívaro warrior desires to have personally—and thus definitely—stolen the arutam of his intended victim. This feat is often not possible, however, and the would-be murderer instead watches for signs coming to him through gossip or direct observation that the enemy already has had his arutam soul taken away by someone else. Such signs or indications, for example, would include rumors of physical weakness or illness on the part of the intended victim, or the firsthand observation that the enemy was lacking in forcefulness of speech.[12] In any case, an attack is made only if the raiders believe that the potential victim has lost his arutam soul. If they should fail to kill him, it is because the enemy still retains the soul or had a second one in reserve.

It should be noted that the personal security which the Jívaro believe comes from killing has some social reality. A man who has killed repeatedly, called ***kakaram*** or "powerful one," is rarely attacked because his enemies feel that the protection provided him by his constantly replaced souls would make any assassination attempt against him fruitless.

Second arutam souls can be acquired in several ways. One method is to capture the arutam soul of an enemy by beating a log signal drum as previously noted. Another common technique is to walk alone through the forest night after night, without the usual illumination of a copal torch, in the hope of encountering an arutam in the darkness.

Shamans always possess arutam souls. Those specializing in bewitching try to steal their intended victim's arutam soul before attempting to kill him through witchcraft. If the intended victim is believed to have two arutam souls, the shaman asks a shaman "friend" or partner to steal the second one for him, since no one can possess more than two such souls simultaneously. A shaman, incidentally, does not lose his arutam soul when he kills by means of sorcery.

The arutam soul must leave a man before he dies, since he cannot die while he retains one (except in the case of contagious disease, in which case retention of the power of two is necessary for certain survival). Thus, at death, he does not have any of the arutam souls left which temporarily dwelt in his body while he was alive. Then, at the moment of death, his *own* arutam souls come into existence for the first time. The exact number of these completely new, freshly "born" souls equals the quantity which the deceased person had acquired during his lifetime. Thus, if he had acquired and subsequently lost five arutam souls, then at the moment of death he forms five new arutam souls. The formation of these souls is said to generate strong winds, thunder, and lightning in the locality. The newly-created arutam souls of the dead man will live eternally, drifting as breezes and temporarily entering into the bodies of

/330 cont./ Each house
361 lies alone by itself, as though lost in the forest, and is usually
542 inhabited by only one family, rarely by several. In approach-
574 ing, certain precautionary measures must be observed to ensure
576 a friendly reception. The visit is announced from a great distance by shouting, but in the immediate vicinity of the house
[721] one marches in absolute silence. This is done in order to demonstrate peaceful intent, since during an attack the Jívaro steals quietly through the forest, but then rushes with a loud war whoop across the open plaza to the house.

342 The houses, the tambos, are real forest palaces, ex-
824 tremely clean and regularly built, with successful utilization of the materials provided by the forest. The high roof, beautifully plaited out of palm leaves, is supported by several rows of slender columns, the faultless trunks of giant palms; the rafters are decoratively arranged in such a way that they can be considered ornamentation. The walls all around, made of tightly fitted split bamboo, fill hardly half the space between the floor and the edge of the roof, so that air comes in freely and yet
342 protection against a first attack is assured. Each house exhibits two doors, one on the straight front wall, the other in the center of the semicircular, projecting rear-side. The house of a young chief was 87 feet long, 60 feet wide, and about 25 feet
353 high, an airy, beautiful building. The front third served as a sort of reception room. Shield and drum were hung on the palm trunks supporting the roof; special contrivances permit the secure placement of the lances and blowguns, whose quivers
352 are put near the fires. /331/ Some low sitting-benches carved out of wood take the place of chairs; low benches made out of split bamboo are placed along the walls, and several frames of the same type serve as couches for the men so that they may take a siesta during the day. These latter contrivances are peculiar in that there is space on them for the body only about to the knee, but the foot rests on a slender crosspiece supported by
● 354 two forks for the support of the freely projecting leg. Directly in front of this pedestal a very smoky fire burns continuously,

/331 cont./

354 [825] almost scorching the soles of the person resting. The smoke of the fire is supposed to provide protection against the mosquitoes, which are almost unbearable here. -- The center part of the 342 [353] tambo is kitchen, dining room, and common living room, in which pots and utensils are kept in the best order. Finally, in the semicircular, bulging part located at the back are the bed-
352 rooms of the families. A number of beds, similar to the couch
342 described above, each with a fire probably kept going all night, are placed symmetrically along the side walls. Each individual bed is bounded on three sides by rather high bamboo walls and open only toward the foot end, so that small sleeping cells, [353] so to speak, independent of one another, are formed. Each person living in the house has his own cell, on the walls of which is hung his private property, in the case of women cosmetic articles and ornaments in particular, packed carefully
342 in decorative bags. What is most striking during a visit to such
356 a house is the cleanliness and neatness with which the whole is maintained. everything stands in its particular place, is readily and surely available, and at the same time is fixed in such a way that it serves to decorate the room. -- The floor is level and tamped hard, like a threshing floor, and is absolutely clean. When I let some cigar ashes fall during my visit, one of the women came immediately to sweep the floor clean again. Not all the houses are equally large and stately; the same strict order and cleanliness which I have just tried to describe do not prevail in all, but even the dwellings that are not maintained as well seem an enviable stopping place to the traveler who has languished in the dirt of Hispano-American housekeeping for years.

515 The people are as clean as the dwellings, but this luxury in a warm climate among half-wild people is less expensive than among us. In general, it is sufficient that the whole family goes in the morning to the neighboring brook for a bath, for clothing
291 plays a very subordinate role. The men wear a cloth about two and a half spans wide, called itipe, around their loins, which is usually held fast by a broad belt (acachulu) plaited out of human hair. The women are wrapped in a larger cloth (tarache) which

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

353 [202] nuts above the reach of small children. Occasionally a large wooden signal drum may be found leaning against a wall post. There are no other important permanent furnishings.

356 [412] The spaciousness of the house is matched by its neatness and cleanliness. The women sweep both inside and outside daily with a short broom made by lashing together branches of the *hapimiuk* plant. The sweepings are put on a banana leaf and carried away in an old basket to be dumped in the forest.

• 354 513 Smoldering fires are maintained at the foot of all beds both in the men's and women's ends to heat the sleepers' feet especially during the nights, which are often chilly, depending upon the altitude and the weather. Those at the women's beds are also the household cooking fires (see Plate 10). All household fires are made by laying three thick palm logs so that their ends meet like the spokes of a wheel. Normally, the log ends smolder slowly, but when a pot is set upon their juncture the logs soon burst into flame. With such an arrangement, fire lighting and kindling is rarely necessary. At night, additional light is provided by burning a small torch or two of copal.

Subsistence

24 [351] [146] Each household has either a single large garden or several smaller ones. In the latter case, the house itself is usually located in the largest. Such gardens constitute almost the exclusive source of carbohydrates for the Jívaro, providing, in terms of calories, perhaps about 65 per cent of the diet. The cultivation of slowly maturing tuberous plants, especially sweet manioc (*Manihot utilissima*), which can be harvested over long periods of time, the absence of a distinct dry

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

22. Shaman boiling *Banisteriopsis* vines and leaves to prepare the hallucinogenic drink *natemä* (Río Tutanangoza, 1964). /p. 138-G/

756
276
291
354 •
415
824